

pope, and decreeing the election and consecration of archbishops and bishops without papal pallium and bull, completed the revolution. The breach was rendered irrevocable by the sentence of excommunication and deprivation which Paul III. at last hurled against the contemner of the papal authority. Henry, by the fiat of his strong will, had done, from not very creditable motives, what he himself had condemned Luther for advocating but a dozen years before. He had spurned the pretensions of Antichrist to dictate to him and his people, and in so doing he took up a position alongside Luther and Zwingli at a very important point in the line of Protestant attack. But neither he nor Parliament, in casting off the pope, renounced the old creed. Parliament expressly declared that its anti-papal legislation should not "be interpreted or expounded that his grace, his nobles, and subjects intended by the same to decline or vary from the congregation of Christ's Church in anything concerning the articles of the Catholic faith of Christendom." King and Parliament went beyond the Oxford reformers in disestablishing the pope; they did not, except for a short season, when the Ten Articles became the official creed of the Church, go the length of the Protestant demand for a reformation of doctrine. Henry might reduce the Church to abject subjection to his will; Parliament might explicitly sanction his headship and make the denial of it high treason by the Supremacy and Treason Acts; these Acts might send More and Bishop Fisher and some other conscientious papists to the block. But England did not thereby become officially a Protestant nation. If papists like More, Fisher, and Prior Houghton suffered for their adherence to the pope, Protestants like Lambert, Barnes, and Anne Ascue suffered for their adherence to Luther and Zwingli. Even Cranmer was more than once in danger of being tried as a heretic, though he was only cautiously feeling his way throughout the reign to the Protestant side.

The formal abolition of the papal authority, which many English kings had disputed, and successive parliaments had curtailed, was nevertheless in itself a reformation. It was a despotic stroke on the side of freedom, not indeed freedom of conscience, but freedom from an alien domination. It might